

SIX PLANS FOR  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

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SIX PLANS  
FOR INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATION

*by*

TEN OBERLIN COLLEGE STUDENTS

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In a talk given recently to the students of Oberlin College on the idea of the entrance of this country into some kind of international organization I suggested five possible plans, as follows:

- I. A general defensive alliance with Great Britain and the British Dominions.
- II. Entrance into the existing League of Nations.
- III. Creation of a new League of Nations.
- IV. Creation of an All-American League of Nations.
- V. Creation of a League of Democracies.

At the end of the talk I announced that a small group of men were offering six prizes of \$50 each, one for the best set of terms for a general defensive alliance of the United States with Great Britain and the British Dominions; one for the best set of terms on which we might enter the existing League of Nations; one for the best Covenant for a new League of Nations; one for the best Covenant for an All-American League of Nations; one for the best Covenant for a League of Democracies; and one for the best document similarly setting forth some still other plan.

The plans here printed are those which won the six prizes. For the full understanding of the second plan the reader should have before him a copy of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

May 2, 1938.

ERNEST H. WILKINS.

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# I

## A TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE BRITISH DOMINIONS

By *William Griffith Smith*

### PREAMBLE

The President of the United States and his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India;

Aware of the unsettled condition of the world and the threats to international peace and security, due, among other reasons, to the refusal of certain nations to abide by world-wide collective agreements, such as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which the High Contracting Parties supported actually or in principle;

Knowing that the interests of their respective nations coincide in many fields of possible cooperation, such as military and economic cooperation;

Hopeful that, as the advantages of this pact win general recognition, they may, by their action, draw others into cooperation with them and thus form an eventual Concord of Powers to preserve the peace; have decided to conclude a treaty:

### ARTICLE I

The purpose of this Alliance shall be:

To advance the natural development of internationalization by actively promoting the cause of world peace;

To develop between the peoples of the two nations a closer intellectual understanding;

To cooperate in the reduction of armaments;

To readjust their economic organizations to each other;

To take the lead in the settlement of the Sino-Japanese and the Spanish Wars, and also in the prevention of war by settling peacefully the difficulties in South-eastern Europe, around the Baltic and in any other troublesome areas.

## ARTICLE II

1. In order that the forces of the United States will not be devoted primarily to preserving the existing territorial limits over which His Majesty reigns, the relationship between the two nations in this Alliance shall be constructed on an unequal basis.

2. The machinery for the pursuance of this Alliance shall be a Council of nine members, five representing the United States and four representing His Majesty.

3. Each State shall have the power to determine the manner of selecting its own membership to the Council.

4. This Council shall meet at least every six months for formal discussions, and in addition it may be called into session by either State through its representatives whenever an emergency which involves a member of this Alliance shall arise.

5. The Council shall appoint permanent committees which shall study and make periodical reports on: international economic problems, racial and minority problems, health and sanitation problems, cultural and intellectual development between the various nations, military preparations by the different nations, and other problems which may present themselves to the Council.

## ARTICLE III

The High Contracting Parties, considering this Alliance the first step toward the breakdown of economic nationalism which characterizes the world at present,

agree to reduce tariff duties between themselves gradually, and in such a way as to avoid serious and sudden disruption to the internal economic structure or to particular industries, but always with the view toward the establishment of free trade between the two nations and their dependencies. They shall reduce the bounties as well as the tariffs within their countries. They shall cooperate in securing a return to a settled international currency. They shall permit the free movement of labor within and between their territories.

#### ARTICLE IV

The High Contracting Parties shall take immediate steps for the coordination of their land, sea, and air forces, so that in case of any form of actual war which may involve them directly, or which may conflict with their common diplomatic policy, they will be able to act together immediately. The control of these forces will remain with the home governments, but the Council shall have the authority to advise the distributing and combining of these forces so that there will be no conflicting of plans. Each nation will be able to reduce its military preparations by virtue of this combining of forces, but these forces shall be at all times sufficient to maintain defensive warfare on two fronts.

#### ARTICLE V

No member State may conclude an alliance with any third State without giving preliminary notice to the other member through the Council where the proposed alliance will be discussed.

#### ARTICLE VI

The High Contracting Parties agree to use the Permanent Court of International Justice whenever a dispute capable of judicial settlement arises between them or between one member State and a third State.

They shall take the necessary steps to make the Permanent Court of International Justice completely independent of pressure from any nation.

## ARTICLE VII

This Alliance shall not have as its purpose joint action against any government or the enforcing of any form of government upon any people against their will.

## ARTICLE VIII

1. If any third State desires to join this Alliance the present members shall determine its admission and also the number of representatives which it shall have on the Council.

2. With the view to extending this Alliance into a general Concord of Powers, the present members shall seek the membership of the other great powers and also of any lesser powers which signify their desire to join.

## ARTICLE IX

This Alliance shall continue until by mutual agreement the members shall decide to abandon it. If any one State desires to withdraw and there are more than two States in the Alliance, then that State may withdraw after six months preliminary notice.

## II

# A TREATY ENTERING THE UNITED STATES INTO THE EXISTING LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By *James Chowning Davies*

## PREAMBLE

The United States of America, desirous that the preservation of general peace shall be achieved by the international reign of law and that political change throughout the world shall be brought about by peaceful means; conscious of the interrelatedness of political and economic barriers to the development of stable international relations; realizing the importance of the interchange of cultural achievements among nations; and convinced of the community of its ideals of peace and justice with those of the League; by signature of this treaty contracts with the Assembly of the League of Nations to enter the League with the following reservations.

## ARTICLE I

The High Contracting Parties agree that the Treaty of Versailles shall be separated completely from the Covenant of the League, and is binding upon no Member of the League as such.

## ARTICLE II

The first two sentences of Article 4, paragraph 1 of the Covenant shall be amended to read thus:

“The Council shall consist of Representatives of the United States of America, the British Commonwealth of Nations, France, and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, together with Representatives of as many

other Members of the League as the Council shall determine under the provisions of Article 4, paragraph 2.”

### ARTICLE III

Article 10 of the Covenant shall be struck out.

### ARTICLE IV

Paragraph 2 of Article 22 of the Covenant shall be amended to read thus:

“2. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage shall be exercised by them acting through the instrumentalities of the League.”

Paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 of Article 22 shall be struck out.

In lieu of the sections struck out of Article 22 the following shall be substituted:

“3. The territories thus placed under mandate of the League shall be governed by a Commission established by the Council. This Commission, as the League shall direct under the provisions of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article, shall have complete charge of the economic and political administration of the Mandates.

“4. The Members of the League recognize as an ultimate aim the internationalization of all colonies, and the Council shall from time to time propose the steps by which this may be brought about.”

### ARTICLE V

Section (b) of Article 23 shall be amended to read thus:

“(b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their common control.”

## ARTICLE VI

This Article shall be added as Article 27 of the Covenant, in accordance with Article 26:

“The Members of the League agree that permanent peace cannot be secured without the easement of economic tensions. To this end, they propose:

(a) The gradual reduction of tariffs, quotas, and other restrictions to the international flow of trade, by means of bilateral trade agreements and eventually by general tariff and quota reductions;

(b) The gradual elimination of exchange controls and clearing agreements among Members of the League;

(c) The establishment of a flexible international monetary standard which will promote confidence and security in international trade;

(d) The adjustment of war debts to put debtor nations on a securer credit basis for international trade;

(e) The establishment in the Bank for International Settlement of a common fund to finance trade operations during economically abnormal periods.”

## ARTICLE VII

This Article shall be added as Article 28 of the Covenant, in accordance with Article 26:

“The Members of the League shall pass no law or decree which discriminates against racial or religious groups within their boundaries. A charter stating the rights, privileges, and immunities of racial or religious minorities shall be drawn up and signed by the Members of the League.”

### III

## A COVENANT FOR A NEW LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By *Milton Elisha Bassett, Jr.*, and  
*Arthur Roland Elliott, Jr.*

### PREAMBLE

We, the Members of the League of Nations, believing that the solution of the economic problems of all Nations is essential to the establishment of a permanent peace, that a reduction of armaments and the publishing of full information regarding each State's armaments and other relevant information is essential to the establishment of a permanent peace, that the settlement of all international disputes by an international court is essential to the establishment of a permanent peace, that the establishment of an International Mandatory Commission for a land is superior to the system of the former Covenant of the League of Nations, that frequent reconsideration of treaties and agreements, and immediate revision of inapplicable treaties and agreements are essential steps toward the establishment of a permanent peace, that military and economic sanctions are inconsistent with the spirit of cooperation in which all Nations must enter the League if a permanent peace is to be obtained,

Agree to this Covenant of The League of Nations.

## ARTICLE I

### Section 1

All legislative powers granted shall be vested in an Assembly and Council.

### Section 2

1. The Assembly shall consist of three Representatives from each Member.
2. Each Member shall have one vote.
3. The Assembly shall meet at Geneva, at stated intervals and at times that the Secretary-General deems necessary.
4. Decisions of the Assembly shall be valid only on agreement by two-thirds of the Members represented in the meeting. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of a majority of the Members.
5. The Assembly shall determine the rules of its proceedings.
6. The Assembly may deal at its meetings with all matters pertinent to any Member and may establish commissions to study these matters.
7. The Assembly, when it convenes annually, shall elect a chairman who shall preside at all meetings during the ensuing year.

### Section 3

1. A Council consisting of twelve Representatives, each of whom shall serve a term of four years, shall be elected by the Assembly. The original Council shall consist of three members elected for one year, three members elected for two years, three members elected for three years, and three members elected for four years. Thus, one-fourth of the Council shall be elected annually. When vacancies occur during an Assembly recess, the Secretary-General shall make temporary appointments until the next session of the Assembly at which such vacancies shall be filled by vote.
2. The Secretary-General shall be the presiding officer of the Council.

3. The Council shall meet at Geneva, or any other place decided upon, at such times as the Secretary-General deems necessary and during all Assembly sessions.

4. All measures passed by the Assembly shall become lawful when passed by the Council by a two-thirds majority. When not so passed a measure shall become lawful only when repassed in the Assembly by a three-fourths majority.

5. The Council may deal at its meetings with all matters pertinent to any Member and may establish commissions to study these matters. When deemed necessary by the Council, joint commissions shall be established, and a Councilman may at any time introduce legislation in the Assembly.

6. The Council shall, in the event of a dispute between a Member and a State which is not a Member, or between States not Members, invite the State or States not Members to accept the obligations of membership in the League for purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. Such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately institute an enquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem most just and effectual in the circumstances.

## ARTICLE II

1. The original Council shall elect, with the Assembly's approval, a Secretary-General whose term shall be three years dating from the installation of the original Council. Thereafter, at least a month before the termination of the Secretary-General's term, the Council shall elect with the Assembly's approval a Secretary-General for a term of four years beginning the following January First.

2. The Secretary-General shall be the administrator of the Secretariat which shall be established at Geneva; which shall comprise such staff as may be required; which shall collect and distribute to Mem-

bers all relevant information and shall render such other assistance as may be necessary or desirable to any commission of the Council or Assembly; which shall with the consent of the Council and at the request of the parties concerned, render the same services given to League commissions to any international conventions not under the control of international bureaus or commissions; and which shall keep a permanent record of all League activities and preserve all League documents.

3. The staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the Council's approval.

### ARTICLE III

1. The judicial power of the League shall be vested in a Permanent Court of International Justice created by the Assembly and Council and such inferior courts as the Assembly may ordain and establish.

2. The judicial power shall extend to all disputes arising between Members, and to any other States which shall be willing to accept the decision of the Court.

### ARTICLE IV

1. All treaties and international engagements entered into by any Member, to be binding, shall be registered with the Secretariat and shall be published by it.

2. Any fully self-governing State, Dominion, or Colony may become a Member if admission is approved by the Assembly and Council; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any Member, nor shall any State be formed by the junction of two or more Members, or parts of Members, without the consent of the Council and Assembly.

## ARTICLE V

1. The expenses of the League and all its bureaus and commissions shall be borne by the Members in the proportion decided by the Assembly.
2. The Secretary-General shall appoint a Secretary of the budget who each year shall draw up a budget which shall be subject to the approval of the Assembly and Council.

## ARTICLE VI

A permanent Economic Commission shall be created by the Council and Assembly. This Economic Commission shall make a study of economic problems facing any Member and of any other State which desires to have such a study made. When the Council deems necessary, it shall present for reconsideration by the League treaties which have become inapplicable and shall call to the attention of the League international conditions the continuance of which might endanger the peace of the world.

## ARTICLE VII

1. When the Council and all parties deem it just that a mandate be created for a land, an international Commission shall be empowered to govern that land, under specific rules laid down by the Council. Such power to govern shall terminate when the people of the mandated country are deemed by the Assembly and Council to be capable of self-government.
2. Mandatory Commissions shall render to the Council an annual report. A permanent Commission shall be constituted to examine the report of Mandatory Commissions and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of mandates.
3. The resources of lands under Mandatory Commissions shall be available equally to all Members, under specific rules made by the Council.

## ARTICLE VIII

1. The Council shall create a permanent Commission to advise it on the formulation of plans for the reduction of armaments.
2. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.
3. After such plans have been adopted by the several governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the Council's concurrence.
4. The Members shall file with the Secretariat full information as to the scale of their armaments, their naval and air programs, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes. All such information shall be published by the League Secretariat.

## ARTICLE IX

Any international bureaus which have already been established by general treaties shall be placed under the League's direction on the consent of the parties to such treaties. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the League's direction.

## ARTICLE X

1. The League shall endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children in all States.
2. The League shall supervise the execution of agreements with regard to traffic in women and children.
3. The League shall supervise international traffic in dangerous drugs.
4. The League shall make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit, and equitable treatment for the commerce of all States.
5. The League will endeavor to take steps in mat-

ters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

## ARTICLE XI

All positions under or in connection with the League shall be open equally to men and women.

## ARTICLE XII

1. Representatives of Members and League officials when engaged on League business shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

2. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

## ARTICLE XIII

1. The Members severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they shall not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

2. In case any Member shall, before becoming a Member, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to release it from such obligations.

3. Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of treaties of arbitration or regional understandings for securing the maintenance of peace.

## ARTICLE XIV

Amendments to this Covenant shall take effect when ratified by three-fourths of the Members.

## ARTICLE XV

The ratification of twenty fully self-governing States, Dominions, or Colonies shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Covenant between the States, Dominions, or Colonies ratifying the same.

## IV

# A COVENANT FOR AN ALL-AMERICAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By *Oscar Edward Anderson, James Willis Deer,*  
*and Edward Van Cleve Nicol*

## PREAMBLE

We, the sovereign states of North, Central, and South America, do establish this Pan-American Union, a confederation, to be used as an instrument to insure the peace of the American continents, to further the economic cooperation among the states of those continents, to foster friendship and understanding among all the American peoples, and to form a basis for eventual participation in a world state.

## ARTICLE I Membership

Section 1. All sovereign nations and dominions of North, Central, and South America, and the adjacent islands shall become members upon signature to this Covenant. Such states as the Dutch, French, and British Guianas, British Honduras, and Newfoundland may send certified observers to the Congress, but in no case shall they be considered members while under direct jurisdiction of another power.

## ARTICLE II The Congress

Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the Pan-American Union.

Section 2. The Congress shall be composed of three delegates from each member State, chosen in any manner and for such term as is acceptable to the respective States, but no State shall have more than one vote.

Section 3. The Congress shall assemble upon the Fifteenth day of February of each year in such places as the Congress may direct. If the Fifteenth falls on a Sunday, the Congress shall meet on the Monday next succeeding.

Section 4. All questions of procedure, credentials of representatives, quorum necessary to do business, and election of officers shall be determined by the Congress.

Section 5. A majority of member States present shall determine all questions except the decision to apply economic sanctions or the decision to apply military force, which decisions shall be made by no less than a two-thirds vote of member States present.

Section 6. The Congress shall have power to:

(1) Assess members in proportion to the wealth of the various States, ascertained according to the directions of Congress, for the financial support of the Union.

(2) Provide for collective action and arbitration in case of war, according to the procedure outlined in Article III.

(3) Provide for the government of the international police force, as established in Article VIII.

(4) Establish commissions in accordance with the provisions of Article XI.

(5) Approve the appointment of all government officials provided for by this Covenant or by Congressional action under this Covenant.

(6) Fix appropriate remunerations for delegates to the Congress and all other officials.

(7) Act on all measures coming under the jurisdiction of the Union and pass upon any legislation necessary to accomplish the purposes of this Union.

Section 7. The jurisdiction of this Congress shall operate only upon the States as such and never upon the individual citizens of the States.

### ARTICLE III

#### War Powers and Compulsory Arbitration

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to define acts of war, to determine when acts of war have been committed, whether in the Americas or abroad, and to define war zones, and parties to wars.

Section 2. Whenever the Congress has determined that a state of war exists between two or more members, or between one or more members and an outside power, it shall order all parties to the war to submit the dispute to the Court of Arbitration.

Section 3. Whenever the Court of Arbitration shall notify Congress that any party has not submitted a case in accordance with the directions of Congress or that any party has failed to abide by the decision of the Court, it shall be the duty of Congress to order the recalcitrant party to comply, or be liable to such collective economic or military sanctions as the Congress shall determine.

### ARTICLE IV

#### The Monroe Doctrine

Section 1. The Monroe Doctrine shall be the basis of the Pan-American Union's policy pertaining to the relation of the Western Hemisphere to the other nations of the world.

Section 2. The Monroe Doctrine shall be considered to consist of the following principles:

(1) Any attempt by non-American powers to colonize or to intervene in the affairs of the States of this Union shall be regarded as an unfriendly act toward

the Union and shall, if necessary, be dealt with by the collective military action of the members of the Union.

(2) The Union, although it is willing to work for the peace of the world as a whole, does not intend to take part in the wars and quarrels of Europe and Asia.

(3) The Union, if necessary, shall advise the policies of the member States so as to prevent any excuse for foreign intervention.

Section 3. The Monroe Doctrine, in instances concerning continental South America, shall be applied by all members of the Union acting through the Congress.

Section 4. The Monroe Doctrine, in instances concerning Central America, the Caribbean Islands, and North America, shall be applied by the United States, acting on its own initiative, with the advice of the other members of the Union.

## ARTICLE V

### The Executive

Section 1. A plural Executive consisting of three members who must be citizens of the member nations shall be elected by the Congress and remain in office subject to removal by Congress.

Section 2. The Executive shall have the power to execute and administer the will of the Congress and to appoint the members of the commissions, by and with the advice and consent of the Congress.

Section 3. A permanent seat for the Executive shall be designated by the Congress.

## ARTICLE VI

### The Court of Arbitration

Section 1. The jurisdiction of the Court of Arbitration shall extend to disputes involving actual conflict or danger of conflict. Only member States may

be parties and they may come into the Court on their own motion or upon order by the Congress when it determines that a conflict or danger of conflict has arisen.

Section 2. The Court shall be composed of twenty-five jurists, not more than five from any one country. A panel of five jurists shall be selected for a particular dispute, one each selected by the two parties and three appointed from neutral States by the Congress.

## ARTICLE VII The Judiciary

Section 1. A Permanent Court shall be composed of five justices appointed by the Congress for an uninterrupted tenure until the age of seventy years. This Court shall handle the ordinary routine disputes under international law. States and international persons competent to enter into international disputes may enter pleas before this tribunal in accordance with the directions of Congress, or in the absence of such statutory regulations by Congress, they may enter pleas in accordance with accepted international law.

Section 2. This Covenant guarantees the right of action in the Court only to member States and competent international persons who are citizens of member States, but the Congress may frame special provisions under which non-member States may appear before the Court, and in no case shall the non-member State be placed in a position of inequality in the procedure.

Section 3. The judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under this Covenant and the laws made in pursuance thereof and to all cases which the parties bring to it and all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions in force. The Court may decide on the interpretation of a treaty; any question of international law; the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of interna-

tional obligation; and the nature and extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

## ARTICLE VIII Police Force

Section 1. There shall be an international police force, naval and military, with an international staff appointed by the Executive. It shall enforce decrees of the Congress and maintain order. Each nation shall contribute an equal percentage of its own military and naval strength, and is to have a proportional sphere of action which it must police according to direction by Congress.

Section 2. In no case shall the police force be used to put down a domestic disturbance, unless there is a threat of violation of the Monroe Doctrine, in which case the police force may be used in accordance with the provisions of Article IV.

## ARTICLE IX Commissions

Section 1. All members of commissions shall be appointed by the Executive. The Congress may vote upon the establishment of new commissions, approve Executive appointments, and appropriate money for the support of the commissions. The following list is not to be construed as prohibiting Congress from abolishing or consolidating any of these commissions or creating new ones:

(1) The Commerce Commission shall have the power to advise nations on their trade with non-member nations who are at war, and to encourage multi-lateral trade agreements among the members of the Union.

(2) The Communications Commission shall have the power to advise the regulation of communications of all types among the members of the Union. In this

regulation, special consideration shall be given to radio and to radio's use as an instrument of propaganda.

(3) The Education Commission shall endeavor to foster friendship and understanding among members of this Union and the other nations of the world. It shall particularly concern itself with language instruction, the foundation of a Pan-American University, and the exchange of students among the American nations.

(4) The Narcotics Commission shall investigate the drug traffic in the Americas and shall make such recommendations to the Congress for the control of that traffic as it sees fit.

(5) The Labor Commission shall gather statistics and diffuse information concerning labor in the Americas; it shall cooperate with the public employment agencies of the member nations.

(6) The Agricultural Commission shall endeavor to improve farming methods and the status of the agricultural worker in the Americas.

(7) The Monetary Commission shall endeavor to facilitate foreign exchange, and to stabilize the currency of the member nations of the Union.

(8) The Public Health Commission shall investigate and make recommendations concerning sanitation, disease-control, and the general physical welfare of the citizens of the member nations.

(9) The Transportation Commission shall encourage the construction of highways and railroads to facilitate transportation among the member nations.

Section 2. These Commissions shall make their recommendations for action to the Congress, which shall then take such action as it deems necessary to carry out these recommendations.

## ARTICLE X

### Agreements with Non-Member States

Section 1. This Union shall not invalidate any con-

vention or agreement that members may have with any other non-member State or organization, except in so far as it is inconsistent with the duty of the member State under the jurisdiction of the Union.

## ARTICLE XI Amendments

Section 1. This Covenant may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the Congress.

## ARTICLE XII Ratification

Section 1. As soon as ten nations have adopted this Covenant it shall be operative.

# V

## A COVENANT FOR A LEAGUE OF DEMOCRACIES

*By James Chowning Davies, Russell Fessenden,  
Frances Ann Harvey, and William Griffith Smith*

### PREAMBLE

The citizens of the States members of the World Federation of Democracies, in order to remove political, economic, and cultural barriers to world cooperation, establish international justice, and provide for the common welfare and defense of the Federation, do establish this Constitution and agree to abide by its provisions.

### ARTICLE I

#### Section 1

The World Federation of Democracies shall be composed of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Eire, England, Finland, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, the Union of South Africa, and the United States.

The seat of the Federation shall be at The Hague, or at any other place which the Legislature may designate.

#### Section 2

Upon ratification in national convention by ten of the above States, this Constitution shall become operative in those States. States in addition to those named shall be admitted after acceptance of this Constitution by conventions of their citizens, subject to approval by two-thirds of the Federation Legislature. Any member State may withdraw, provided that its citizens indicate such desire by national convention and that a

majority of the Federation Legislature approves of the withdrawal.

### Section 3

The legislative representation shall be based upon the population of the member States and upon an effort to equalize the power of the member States. The legislative body shall be composed of sixteen members from the United States, eight members each from England and France, four from Czechoslovakia, and two each from the others.

One-half of the representatives from each country shall be appointed by the government of that country and the other half shall be elected by the people of the country. Members of the Legislature shall have four-year terms and be paid an annual salary from the Federation Treasury.

The Legislature shall meet every six months, and shall be subject to call for special sessions as the Executive Board may deem necessary. The presiding officer of the Legislature shall be elected at each session.

Except where otherwise specified, the decisions of the Legislature shall be effected by a majority of its members.

Each representative shall have complete Legislative discretion and independence from his home government, but each is subject to recall either by the government of his State or, if he is popularly elected, by referendum initiated through petition by ten per cent of the voters of his State.

### Section 4

The seven members of the Executive Board shall be chosen by the Legislature from among its members. The members of the Executive Board shall have four-year terms, which shall be so arranged that at least one new member will be elected annually to the Executive Board.

The chairman of the Executive Board shall be

elected by and from the Board for a two-year term, subject to reelection.

No more than two members of the Executive Board shall be citizens of the same country.

### Section 5

The Executive Board, subject to approval by the Legislature, shall appoint six committees, whose chairmen shall be members of the Executive Board and whose members shall include members of the Legislature and technical experts. These committees shall be entitled: Committee on Budget; on Military, Naval, and Air Forces; on Financial and Trade Relations; on Inter-Governmental Relations; on Mediation and Arbitration; on Social and Cultural Relations. Subcommittees shall be appointed by the chairman of each Committee.

These Committees shall be responsible for investigation and research in their respective fields, and for providing bills and reports for Legislative consideration whenever requested.

### Section 6

The Legislature shall have the authority to assess each country an amount proportional to its national budget for the regular conduct of all Federation activities, and in emergencies such as war shall levy special assessments.

## ARTICLE II

The Federation shall, through the Committee on Social and Cultural Relations, promote throughout the world: a) cultural and intellectual understanding, b) more equitable wage standards and labor conditions, c) better conditions of health and sanitation.

## ARTICLE III

### Section 1

The Committee on Financial and Trade Relations shall be empowered to frame for the Legislature bills on tariff policies for the member States with a view

to: a) the lowering of import tariffs and export restrictions on raw materials imposed by members against one another, and application of most-favored-nation treatment among the member States; b) the suppression of industrial and agricultural quotas; c) the correction or removal of those regulations now enforced by the member States against one another, which are so misused as to obstruct international trade.

### Section 2

In order to facilitate trade relations, the Committee on Financial and Trade Relations shall be empowered to frame currency stabilization bills for the Legislature.

### Section 3

To facilitate monetary exchange among members, exchange controls, clearing systems, and other obstacles to the free flow of money among member nations shall be abolished. A Bank of International Settlements, open to all nations, shall be established, in which each member shall maintain a permanent credit balance.

## ARTICLE IV

### Section 1

The members of the Federation agree to place their armament industries under complete state control, and to present full statistics to the Executive Board of armament production and the strength of their military, naval, and air forces.

### Section 2

The Federation members, realizing that a permanent peace cannot be achieved without drastic armament reduction, propose to reduce their combined armament to the lowest amount which will guarantee their common safety. The Legislature shall determine the size of the armament of each member.

### Section 3

An international military, naval, and air force shall be maintained at such points as the Committee on Military, Naval, and Air Forces shall direct. On the advice of the Committee, the Legislature shall determine the size of the international forces, which shall be large enough to check conflict of such proportions as shall not require the combined military strength of all member States. From time to time, divisions of the armies, navies, and air forces of the member States shall be internationalized and placed under control of this Committee.

## ARTICLE V

The Legislature shall advise the revision of treaties existing between member States or between member and non-member States where such treaties are inconsistent with this Constitution. Such revision shall follow study and recommendation by the Committee on Inter-Governmental Relations, if between member States, or by the Committee on Mediation and Arbitration if between a member and a non-member State. All future treaties made by members shall be consistent with this Constitution.

## ARTICLE VI

### Section 1

The Legislature shall establish a Court of World Democracies, whose jurisdiction shall extend to all justiciable disputes arising under this Constitution between member States and their citizens.

The eleven justices shall be appointed by the Executive Board, subject to Legislative approval, for eleven-year terms, which shall be so arranged that there is one appointment annually to the Court.

### Section 2

Justiciable disputes arising under this Constitution between a member and a non-member State or their

citizens respectively shall be submitted to the Court of World Democracies for settlement, or to any other body upon which the parties to the dispute agree.

### Section 3

Non-justiciable disputes between members shall be submitted to inquiry by the Committee on Mediation and Arbitration and to final settlement by the entire Legislature.

Non-justiciable disputes between members and non-members shall be submitted to inquiry and final settlement by any body upon which the parties agree.

### Section 4

An increase in the number of member States shall in time be deemed reason for the consolidation of the Court of World Democracies and the Permanent Court of International Justice, subject to treaty with the States which are members of that Court.

### Section 5

Federation members agree to abide by all decisions or awards made under the above conditions.

## ARTICLE VII

### Section 1

In case of aggression by any State against a Federation member, the members shall sever such trade and financial relations with the aggressor as the Legislature shall determine.

### Section 2

Should economic sanctions prove inadequate against the aggressor, the Federation shall use first its international armed force and second the combined armed forces of the Federation members, such as the Legislature shall deem necessary to resist such aggression.

### Section 3

The aggressor in international armed conflict shall be defined as the nation or group of nations which:

a) declares war upon any Federation member; b) invades by its military or air forces, with or without declaration of war, the territory of any Federation member; c) attacks by any of its armed forces, with or without declaration of war, the vessels or airplanes of any Federation member in territory under the jurisdiction of the Federation or any of its members; d) blockades the coasts or ports of any member State; e) lends support in any form to armed bands which invade the territory of a member State.

#### Section 4

If any Federation member shall at any time engage in armed conflict with any State, whether a Federation member or not, without the consent of the Legislature, it shall be the duty of the other Federation members to employ such economic and military sanctions as the Legislature shall deem necessary.

#### Section 5

Any Federation member which violates a provision of this Constitution rather than seek recourse to amendment shall be expelled by a two-thirds vote of the Legislature.

### ARTICLE VIII

All mandates and protectorates of members are automatically placed under jurisdiction of the Federation by the ratification of this Constitution, and members shall surrender their colonies to jurisdiction of the Federation when two-thirds of the Legislature so determines.

### ARTICLE IX

Amendments to this Constitution shall be proposed by the Legislature and become operative when ratified by two-thirds of the member States in conventions. Should any member refuse to abide by the provisions of the amendment, that State shall be expelled by a majority vote of the Legislature.

## VI

# A CONSTITUTION FOR AN INTERNATIONAL UNITED FRONT PEACE MOVEMENT

By *David William Barry*

## PREAMBLE

We, the representatives of organizations and peoples of the world who believe the highest expression of life to be through ways of peace, believing the following statements to be true:

That war is a method of solving the problems of peoples; that there is always an alternative method to which cooperation is the key; that such an alternative method will in the long run be more efficient, more humane, more rational, and more acceptable than war;

That modern warfare, involving as it does the exploitation of the human and material resources of an entire nation, is a distinctly unprofitable venture, the direct and indirect costs even to the victorious nations being far greater than benefits receivable; that any nation today must itself pay by far the greatest portion of the cost of the part it takes in any major war;

That, in spite of the foregoing, war as an outlet for the tension caused by international maladjustment is still considered a valid method of national action, being a habit of long standing; that therefore as a habit of mind it must be painstakingly trained out of peoples as must any other popular misconception, by education;

That present efforts for peace are in the large disorganized and uncoordinated:

Hereby present for ratification this Constitution for an International United Front Peace Movement with

the purpose of substituting other methods for war and educating the war habit out of the peoples of the world.

### ARTICLE I

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the International United Front Peace Movement.

Section 2. The purpose of this organization shall be to do research, to educate, and otherwise to act to influence peoples of the world to the end that war no longer be accepted among peoples of the world as a conceivable method of solving the problems of nations and peoples.

### ARTICLE II

Section 1. Membership in the Movement shall be conditional only upon the testimony of the applicant for membership that he believes war in no case to be a reasonable or inevitable method of settling international difficulties.

Section 2. Membership shall be denied no one on grounds of age, sex, race, affiliation with any political or religious or other organization, or adherence to any particular government or form of government.

Section 3. A member may be dismissed from the Movement by a three-fourths vote of the General Committee upon satisfactory evidence that he has been acting in direct opposition to his testimony as presented in Section 1.

Section 4. Members shall be assessed admission fees and yearly dues to be determined annually by the General Committee.

### ARTICLE III

Section 1. The activities of the Movement shall be divided into eight fields: industry, agriculture, transportation and communication, education, religion, recreation, the home and family, and social welfare.

Section 2. The membership of the Movement shall be divided into eight units corresponding to the eight fields enumerated in Section 1. The activities of each of these units shall be directed by a committee of six members to be elected by that unit in convention. The names of these committees shall be the Committee on Industry, the Committee on Agriculture, the Committee on Transportation and Communication, the Committee on Education, the Committee on Religion, the Committee on Recreation, the Committee on the Home and the Family, and the Committee on Social Welfare.

Section 3. Each member upon admission to the Movement shall be assigned to a particular unit according to his expressed desire. His activity as a member of the Movement shall thenceforward be directed by the Committee in charge of that unit. This Committee may, upon the written request of the member, transfer that member to another unit.

Section 4. The functions of each unit shall be two-fold, consisting in research and extension. Each unit shall present a monthly report of its activities to the General Committee.

The research shall be into causes and effects of war within the particular field of that unit, the nature and extent and efficiency of the programs of organizations already operating within that field directly or indirectly for the cause of peace, and alternative methods for war which in terms of their constructive effect in that field might be substituted for war as a method of solving international and national problems.

The extension shall be through education, propaganda, political action, coordination of existing organized efforts for peace by cooperating with those organizations and suggesting to them methods of cooperation, setting up of new organizations where there is felt to be a need, and whatever other form of action may be suggested by the research.

Section 5. Ultimate authority in the Movement shall be vested in a General Committee of Coordination, consisting of sixteen members, eight of whom shall be the eight chairmen of the unit Committees and the other eight of whom shall be members of the unit Committees chosen one from each Committee in a manner to be determined by each unit in session.

Section 6. The functions of the General Committee of Coordination shall be to define the area of operation of each unit, to coordinate the activities of the various units, to determine policies of the Movement, to approve or reject activities of the individual units, to provide for and control the finances of the Movement, and to prevent any unit from carrying on any activity which the General Committee considers harmful to the cause of peace.

When a policy or an activity of any unit is under consideration by the General Committee the two members of the Committee for that unit who are members of the General Committee shall each have two votes in regard to the disposal of that policy or activity.

#### ARTICLE IV

Section 1. The General Committee shall elect a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary, and a treasurer.

The chairman and vice-chairman shall be elected for a term of six years. The duties of the chairman shall be to preside at meetings, to determine minor policies, and to act as executive agent for the General Committee. The duties of the vice-chairman shall be to assist the chairman and to act in his stead when the chairman is unable to carry out his duties.

The secretary of the General Committee shall be elected for a term of one year. The duties of the secretary shall be to provide for the taking of attendance and minutes at meetings of the General Committee and to take charge of all reports, publications, and

correspondence of the Committee, and to take charge of membership and the admission of new members.

The treasurer of the General Committee shall be elected for a term of one year. The duty of the treasurer will be to take charge of the finances of the Movement.

The chairman and vice-chairman of the General Committee shall hold no other office in the Movement. Upon their election to those offices, the unit Committee or Committees in which each held a position shall elect another unit member to the unit Committee to fill his place.

Section 2. The unit Committees shall each consist of a chairman, a secretary, a treasurer, a director of research, a director of extension, and a director of co-ordination. Each of these will be elected for a term of three years.

The duties of the chairman shall be to preside at meetings of the unit Committee and to act with executive authority for the Committee.

The duties of the secretary shall be to provide for the taking of attendance and minutes at meetings, to keep the membership records of the unit, and to take charge of all publications, correspondence, and official documents of the unit.

The duties of the treasurer shall be to take charge of the finances of the unit, under the supervision of the treasurer of the General Committee.

The duties of the director of research of the unit Committee shall be to take charge of the research activities of the unit into its particular field.

The duties of the director of extension shall be to take charge of the extension activities of the unit.

The duty of the director of coordination shall be to keep informed as to the activity of other units and to point out to his unit Committee and other unit Committees instances of duplication or opposition of effort, with suggestions for cooperation.

Section 3. Members of the General Committee and of the unit Committees shall be paid salaries, the amounts of which shall be determined by the Movement membership in annual convention.

## ARTICLE V

Section 1. The members of the Movement shall convene annually to transact necessary business, to hear reports on the activities of the units and of the Movement as a whole, and to approve or reject policies of the Movement. At this time all major issues upon which it is necessary to vote will be put in the form of a question, which will be mailed, with the major arguments pro and con, to all members of the unit unable to attend the convention for reasons of finance or distance. Members may vote either in person or by mail.

Section 2. Headquarters of the Movement and the location of the next annual convention will be determined by members in each annual convention.

Section 3. Members of each unit shall convene annually, preferably immediately after the general convention, to transact business, determine policies, and hear reports. Members of the units will vote in the same manner as described in Section 1.

Section 4. In both the general convention and the conventions of the units, a voting body consisting of three-fourths of the membership shall be considered a quorum.

Section 5. The General Committee shall meet twice each month to transact business. Once each month each unit Committee chairman shall give a report of the activities of his unit.

Section 6. The unit Committees shall meet once each month to transact business.

## ARTICLE VI

Any organization the activities of which the Gener-

al Committee considers to be in full accord with the purposes of the Movement may be accepted into the Movement in toto, having the right to as many votes as it has active members. Every member of that organization shall thenceforward be considered a member of the Movement, with corresponding rights and duties.

## ARTICLE VII

This Constitution may be amended by a four-fifths vote of the Movement in convention.









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